Course Summary

If the history of modern China was written as a novel its author would be accused of losing touch with reality. During the twentieth century, China witnessed the collapse of a centuries-old imperial system, two revolutions, foreign occupation and civil war, the introduction of a radical form of communism under Mao Zedong, the retreat from communism following the death of Mao and the adoption of capitalist style economic reforms, albeit still under the auspices of a nominally communist ruling party. China has started the twenty-first century much as it started the last – in a state of transition and flux. Home to around a quarter of the world’s population, the implementation of post-Mao economic reforms has made China one of the fastest growing economies in the world. As China’s military expenditure increases and economy expands, many believe that China will emerge as the next leading superpower, eclipsing the United States some time during the next decade or so. Others predict that China is on the brink of collapse, implosion and disaster with hundreds of millions currently out of work, gross social and economic inequality and rampant official corruption.

This course seeks to understand China’s rise, but first we consider how China got to where it is today, and its domestic dynamics with an emphasis on the mainland China in the contemporary era. The first half of this module will examine the domestic aspect of Chinese politics including China under Mao, elite politics, democratization, political legitimacy, and nationalism. Will China become a democracy? Why does the one-party system in China thrive? How does the communist party achieve economic opening while maintaining the authoritarian rule politically? Are we witnessing the coming collapse of the party?

The second half of this course seeks to understand China’s rise with a focus on its foreign relations. The “rise of China” is proving to be one of the most important developments of the early 21st century. It is widely believed that China will (or even has already) replace the US to become the next leading superpower (in purchasing power parity measurement), China has already replaced the US to become the largest world economy since 2014. Many argue that a rising China and a declining US will be engaged in security competition with considerable potential for war. Others argue that given its economic and political openness, the current international order is well able to accommodate China’s peaceful rise. What are the implications of China’s emergence as a global power? Can China rise peacefully? What are China’s strategic intentions? Will China overthrow the exiting international order, or become a part of it? How to deal with the rise of China? The course will enable students to understand China’s emergence as a global power and Chinese foreign policy.
The module aims to:-

- Provide students with a thorough overview of how government and politics are organised and function in the People’s Republic of China
- Introduce students to the complex and distinct nature of Chinese politics, along with their historical and theoretical basis
- Locate the theoretical debates on the nature of the Chinese political system within the contexts of both contemporary Chinese politics and modern Chinese history

The learning objectives of the module are:-

1. To be familiar with the main foundations of the Chinese political structure
2. To understand the functioning of power in the Chinese party-state
3. To have an awareness of the major policy debates in Chinese politics
4. To be familiar with a wide range of literature on Chinese politics and international relations
5. To be able to critically analyse complex ideas, both orally and in writing, with relation to Chinese politics
6. To develop IT and research skills through the use of the library, internet and e-mail based resources
7. To develop the ability to work both as a group and independently

Teaching Staff

Dr Jinghan Zeng

Room: FW 145

E-mail address: Jinghan.zeng@rhul.ac.uk

Term 1 Week Schedule: China’s domestic politics (subject to change)
Monday 9-11am

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<td>2.</td>
<td>From late Qing to 1945</td>
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<td>Ideological Evolution: Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism</td>
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<td>China under Deng/ The Party-State</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Elite Politics and Succession</td>
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<td>Corruption</td>
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<td>Political Legitimacy of the Party</td>
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<td>Term 2 Week Schedule: China’s international relations (subject to change)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. China’s International Relations: Will China Rule the World?</td>
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<td>2. Republic of China and People’s Republic of China</td>
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<td>5. Sino-Japan relations</td>
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<td>6. China’s Grand Strategy/ China’s soft Power</td>
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<td>7. Nationalism and Foreign Policy</td>
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<td>8. China’s Economic Power (IPE)</td>
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<td>9. China’s Military Power</td>
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<td>10. Can China Rise Peacefully?</td>
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Course Assessment

This course is assessed on the basis of:

1. Essay 1 (25%) to be submitted on 7 December \((9am \text{ via Moodle and in the seminar})\) (3,000 words)

2. Essay 2 (25%) to be submitted on Spring term N/A \((9am \text{ via Moodle and in the seminar})\) (3,000 words)

3. Examination (50%) in Week N/A(3 questions in 3 hours)

Full details about each form of assessment will be provided in due course.

This course does not accept late essay submission. However, if you have major extenuating circumstances, policy for coursework extensions or deferral and exam deferral is as follows:

1. You must contact the course leader in advance to request an extension or deferral.

2. You must submit your request on the Permission for Deadline Extension form together with any evidence to support your case.

3. Get advice from your tutor

Your request might be considered by a university panel that will decide whether your request is allowed or not. If the panel allows the deferral, the course leader may extend the relevant deadline or make alternative arrangements for assessment where appropriate or practical, on medial or other reasonable grounds for up to 14 calendar days. Reasonable grounds include

- A serious debilitating illness causing unavoidable prolonged absence from the university
- A serious accident or acute illness just before or on the hand-in day
- A significant family event, e.g. the death of a member of the immediate family or the need to care for an unexpectedly sick relative

They do not include

- Problems that should have been planned for, e.g. problems with printers, computers, or software like office or windows
- Needing a bit more time to get another book or refine the work

Each student is also required to undertake the following forms of non-assessed work
• A 10-15 minute in-class individual presentation of a most recent news on China. In reporting the news, the presenter should synthesize news stories from at least two major mass media outlets.

• A 20-30 minute in-class group presentation on a specific subject. Presenters are expected to introduce the research and critically review its key conclusions.

If necessary the presenter should also provide some background information to help the class understand the story better. After each presentation there will be a short period in which the presenter responds to questions or comments from the audience.

Module Textbook and Core Reading


Bibliography

To get the best out of the course the standard advice is to read widely and use the library: there are many more relevant references than this reading-list contains and many more arguments than we will cover in the lectures. Finding these can be a matter of both serendipity and enlightenment but if you do not read your chances of finding any of them will be greatly diminished.

Electronic Resources

Other relevant sources could be several thousand references long – it has been restricted to particular sites that relate to information and arguments that will be explicitly dealt with in the lectures and seminars. (NB. Wikipedia does not count as a relevant site by itself: it should only ever be used as a springboard into other sites).

For the preparation of the individual presentation, there are many English-language websites that cover news on China including

• [South China Morning Post](#)

• [People's Daily](#)
For the group presentation, the students are encouraged to keep an eye on the following scholarly journals which include material related to this course. Here is a list of top-ranked journals. It is recommended you spend time searching these, many of which are held electronically by RHUL library and Senate House.

- China Quarterly
- The China Journal
- Journal of Contemporary China
- Chinese Journal of International Politics
• China: an international journal
• China Review
• China Information
• Journal of Chinese Political Science
• Modern China
• Pacific Review
• Pacific Affairs
• Asian Survey
• American Political Science Review
• Comparative Political Studies
• Comparative Politics

Tips and Advice

Be confident. Do not fear. This is not a language course. Excellent Chinese language skills will be an asset; however, you do not have to be good at Chinese in order to get high grades in this module. The most important thing that students shall bring is a willingness to work hard on possibly unfamiliar material.

Read. As with all academic subjects, reading is an essential complement to the taught parts of the course. The reading list is there to provide an indication of resources for essays and exams. You will not be expected to be familiar with all of the texts, rather the aim to get you all to read some key articles and pieces of work that will give you direction and then allow you to go on to develop your own interests.

Go to lectures. Attendance at all sessions, seminar presentations and participation in the online seminar discussion are compulsory. This is a closely integrated and tightly structured course. If you miss a lecture, you will quickly lose direction and find it very difficult to keep up. With this in mind, I expect you to attend all lectures, do all readings, and actively participate in class. If you have trouble thinking of things to say, take notes on the readings – this will often bring you to class with thoughts or questions that can then be used to help jump-start discussion. If you are not able to attend a lecture because of major extenuating circumstances, you must contact the lecturer in advance by email. Being more than fifteen minutes late to class will count as an absence. Please note that students with unsatisfactory attendance and participation records will fail the course.
**Contact Policy**

**Email Policy:** I check email daily during the week, and will usually respond within 24 working hours. Email works best for procedural questions (setting up appointments, etc.); detailed questions about course material are usually easier to clarify in class or in office hours.

**Office Hours:** I hold office hours on N/A; if you have a scheduling conflict at this time, email me and we will arrange another time to meet. We encourage you to come by office hours regularly; they give you a chance to ask questions and talk about difficulties you’re having with the readings, your essays, or any other aspects of the class. You are always welcome to come to office hours in pairs or small groups.

**Plagiarism, Copying and Cheating**

Everything submitted for assessment by an individual student or group of students must be original work.

A short guide for students in the Department of Politics and International Relations Royal Holloway, University of London states

“Plagiarism an extremely serious offence, both within the College and the Department. Ignorance of the meaning of plagiarism is no defence and all students will be deemed to understand and be aware of the University of London Student Regulation as set out below. There are very serious penalties for students who have been found to have plagiarised their work. Please do not be tempted to jeopardise your degree in this irresponsible fashion.”

Follow these simple guidelines to help avoid problems of plagiarism:

- Append a list of references and other sources used to each of your assignments.
- Surround all direct quotations with inverted commas, and cite the precise source (including page numbers) either in a footnote or in parentheses directly after the quotation.
• Use quotations sparingly and make sure that the bulk of the essay is in your own words.

• Try to ‘distance’ yourself from your sources by putting aside the source material (books and downloaded web information etc.) that you have used, and perhaps also the notes you have made on them, when you actually sit down to write.

• It is usually not necessary to cite or attribute lecture material, though again you should avoid copious direct quotations or near quotations, and should not rely wholly on lecture notes to form the structure of your essay.

WARNING. When plagiarism is established, penalties will apply.

The severity of the penalty will vary with the extent to which work is plagiarised e.g. sporadic lapses in citation will be treated differently to wholesale copying. However, it should be noted that in some cases the penalty can be (and has been) expulsion from the university.

Grade Descriptors

This is a guide to the criteria used by staff in assigning a mark to a piece of work. The final mark awarded to a piece of work will be informed by its predominant character. In each Mark Range the criteria indicate the quality of the work. Within each band it is possible for a piece of work to have some flaws provided that such weaknesses are sufficiently compensated by the quality of the remainder of the work. These principles apply to all formally assessed work with some differences in emphasis for assessments completed in different circumstances. For example, the standards for English and referencing are likely to be higher for coursework than for examinations (for instance, exam answers would not normally include detailed references to cited works but, where appropriate, the latter should appear in coursework).

Courses generally use a range of assessment methods designed to monitor your progress and to find out whether or not you have achieved the intended module learning outcomes. It would be unusual for all learning outcomes to be tested in a single assessment. Therefore, you should note that the marking criteria will be adapted to suit the requirements of particular assessments. It is your responsibility to ensure that you understand the criteria being applied in any particular assessment.

Grade Disputes Policy

If you have any questions about your grade, you should wait 24 hours after receiving your grades. This will give you time to clearly identify what you want to dispute and organize your rationale for why the grade should be reconsidered. After collecting your thoughts, please
write a short memo (1-2 paragraphs) explaining why you think your grade should be changed, then email it to me along with your request to meet. You must contact the module leader within 7 days of getting your essay or exam results back. You will be asked to bring the graded document to the meeting. After talking with you and reviewing your memo and document, I will give you my decision by email. Please be aware that it is possible that you may get lower as well as higher grades after review. Please also note all marks are provisional until they are approved by the external examination board.

Feedback:

Feedback on formal assessments should be linked to the marking criteria. This feedback can take different forms, including generic oral feedback to a whole class or individual comment sheets. The aim of the feedback is to help you develop the knowledge and skills needed for successful completion of the module.

Informal feedback from tutors is used to inform you of your progress and takes place through individual meetings and classroom discussions. Peer feedback between students is usually encouraged through group meetings, seminar and class discussions. You should make use of all these different forms of feedback to evaluate your learning and identify further appropriate learning activities.

Teaching and Reading List

The course will be divided into 2 hours of seminar per week. I will be asking each of you to give presentations. I will then lead you through the subsequent discussions, ensuring that all the important aspects of each subject are adequately dealt with. This format clearly puts some of the onus on you to do the reading and you should all be prepared to get actively involved in the discussions. Some discussion questions are provided in the reading list but it does not include all questions that we will discuss during the seminar.

The reading list below is extensive, but by no means exhaustive. It is up to you to identify any other relevant sources.

General Reading

There are dozens of good “generalist” books about post-49 China. I have found the following volumes useful (including a couple of my own!).

Baum

Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng.

Brandt and Rawski

China’s Great Economic Transformation.
Breslin

Mao.

Broudehoux

The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing.

Cheng Li

China’s Changing Political Landscape.

Fewsmith

China Since Tiananmen: The Politics of Transition.

Gittings

Changing Face of China: From Mao to Market. Goldman and MacFarquhar

The Paradox of China’s Post-Mao Reforms.

Gray

Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to the 1980s.

Hays Gries and Rosen

State and Society in 21st Century China: Crisis, Contention and Legitimation.

Kuhn

How China’s Leaders Think.

Lawrence

China Since 1919: Revolution and Reform

Leonard

What Does China Think?

Lieberthal

Governing China: From Revolution to Reform.

MacFarquhar


Meisner

Mao’s China and After: A History of the People’s Republic.

Naughton

The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth.

Pei Minxin

China’s Trapped Transition.

Saich

Governance and Politics of China.

Shambaugh

The Modern Chinese State.

Shirk

China: Fragile Superpower.

Spence

In Search of Modern China

Teufel-Dreyer

China’s Political System: Modernization and Tradition.

Wang

Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction.

Weatherley


Weatherley

Making China Strong: The Role of Nationalism in Chinese Thinking on Democracy and Human Rights

White

01. Introduction

Summary: The introductory session will explore China. It will briefly introduce the course, as well as explore students’ interests and backgrounds and the modes of assessment.

02. From late Qing to 1949

Discussion questions

- To what extent was the CCP victory a victory for nationalism as an ideology?
- What is the relationship between war and revolution?
- Did the Guoming dang defeat itself?
- Outline the relevance of the May Fourth Movement for the revolution
- Explain the relationship between the Guoming dang and the warlords
- How did Mao’s revolutionary ideas differ from orthodox Marxists’?

Required reading:


Supplementary reading:

The Late Qing Empire in Global History http://www.asian-studies.org/EAA/Crossley-13-2.pdf

Documentary: The Last Emperor of China, a documentary film https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5LZA1g4yRQ


03 Ideological Evolution: from Marxism, Leninism, Maoism to China Dream

Discussion Questions:

- What is Marxism, Leninism and Maoism?
- Was ideology important? Is it important? Is it obsolete?
- Is ideology about belief and worldview?
- What is three represents? Why was it promoted?
- What is Scientific Outlook of Development and Harmonious Society? What are their functions?
- What is China Dream?
- What does Chinese ideology include?

Required reading:


Supplementary reading

Jinghan Zeng, Changing Manners of Displaying Loyalties through Ideological Campaigns in post-Deng China, Journal of Contemporary China

Heike Holbig, "Ideological Reform and Political Legitimacy in China," in Regime Legitimacy in Contemporary China: Institutional Change and Stability, ed. Thomas Heberer and Gunter Schubert (Routledge, 2009);

Maria Bondes and Sandra Heep, "Frames We Can Believe In: Official Framing and Ideology in the CCP's Quest for Legitimacy," (available at http://www.giga-hamburg.de/dl/download.php?d=/content/publikationen/pdf/wp187_bondes-heep.pdf access on April 24, 2013: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2012);
Heike Holbig, "Ideology after the End of Ideology. China and the Quest for Autocratic Legitimation," Democratization 20, no. 1 (2013);

Anne-Marie Brady, "Mass Persuasion as a Means of Legitimation and China's Popular Authoritarianism," American Behavioral Scientist 53, no. 3 (2009);

Nora Sausmikat, "More Legitimacy for One-Party Rule? The CCP’s Ideological Adjustments and Intra-Party Reforms?," Asien 99, no. S (2006);

Xiaobo Su, "Revolution and Reform: The Role of Ideology and Hegemony in Chinese Politics," Journal of Contemporary China 20, no. 69 (2011);

Peter Thomas, Legitimating the Chinese Communist Party since Tiananmen: A Critical Analysis of the Stability Discourse (Oxon: Routledge, 2011);


Joseph Fewsmith, "Studying the Three Represents," China Leadership Monitor (2003);


Victor Shih, "'Nauseating' Displays of Loyalty: Monitoring the Factional Bargain through Ideological Campaigns in China," The Journal of Politics 70, no. 4 (2008);

Andre Lieber, "The Chinese Ideology: Reconciling the Politics with the Economics of Contemporary Reform," Journal of Chinese Politics Science 18, no. 4 (2013);


04 China Under Mao (1949-1976)

Discussion questions

- Was Mao a Marxist or did he actually abrogate Marxism?
- How did he manage to overcome opposition in the party to launch his great revolutionary adventures?
- What were the costs and consequences of the Great Leap?
- And likewise the costs and consequences of the Cultural Revolution?
- Good Mao or Bad Mao?
- What are the main principles of Maoism?
- Is Maoism a form of, or an aberration from Marxism?
- And most importantly for this module, what has been the legacy of this modus operandi for contemporary Chinese politics?
Required reading

- Documentary: China A Century of Revolution 1949/1976
  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1L6aTHtZF00

Supplementary reading

Web-sites

Good Mao  http://rwor.org/i/quiz.pdf and
http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/wim/mythsofmao.html

Interesting Mao  http://www.iisg.nl/~landsberger/glf.html

Bad Mao  http://www.efd.org/CR/ (nb: this sometimes hangs and you have to close your browser down, but its worth it when it is working)

Try and read one from each of the following sections

*Mao’s ideas and ideology*


Shaun Breslin *Mao*


*The Great Leap and Its Consequences*


MacFarquhar *The origins of the cultural revolution – Vol 1* Its long, but its VERY good and its available as an e-book with access via the library catalogue

*The Cultural Revolution and Its Consequences*

You **might** look at the [www.morningsun.org](http://www.morningsun.org) which will show you a lot about the Cultural Revolution in particular, and the politicisation of everything in Mao’s China in general


**05 Party-state**

Required reading

06 Elite politics

Questions:
- What is China’s succession system? How is this different from other countries?
- Is China’s succession system legitimate?
- Is the current succession system sustainable?
- How do you compare the contemporary elite politics with that in Mao’s and Deng’s era?

Required reading:

Supplementary reading


07 Corruption

Discussion questions:

- Does corruption matter?
- What are causes of corruption in China?
- How to solve corruption in China?
- What has been done to solve corruption in China?
- How do you think about Xi Jinping’s anti-corruption campaigns? Is anti-corruption only about corruption?

Required reading:


China’s new leaders discuss fight against corruption, but some are skeptical of action
https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/chinas-new-leaders-focus-on-fighting-corruption/2012/12/27/9953e00a-4f77-11e2-950a-7863a013264b_story.html

Cleaning up the Party http://www.economist.com/blogs/theworldin2013/2012/12/corruption-china

A Family Affair: http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/05/30/a-family-affair/


Mistakenly-released report reveals embarrassing extent of Chinese corruption:

08 Economic development

Discussion Questions

- Have China’s economic reforms been a success or a failure?
- Is there a China model? What is a China model? How Chinese is China model?
- Is there a Beijing consensus? What we can learn from Beijing consensus?
- Why should we expect economic reform to lead to democratisation? …. and why might it not be the case?
- Where would we expect the challenges to party power to emerge from? (and where has it come from)
- What is meant by neo-authoritarianism?

Required reading

- Tony Saich, Governance and Politics of China, 4th edition, Palgrave, 2015, page 244-267
Supplementary reading


The Successes and Failures of Economic Reform

**Successes**


Chow, *China’s Economic Transformation.*


Lardy, *Integrating China into the World Economy.*


*Have a look at some of the statistics provided by the World Bank and IMF on China’s recent/annual economic growth.*
Failures

Day, China’s Environment and the Challenge of Sustainable Development.
Lu Xiaobo, Cadres and Corruption: The Organizational Involution of the Chinese Communist Party.


09 Political Legitimacy of the Party-state

Discussion Questions

- How has the CCP sought to legitimise its monopoly on political power since 1949?
- What are the sources of political legitimacy in Mao’s China?
- What are the sources of political legitimacy in Deng’s China?
- What are the sources of political legitimacy in contemporary China?
- What will be the sources of political legitimacy in China in the future?

Required reading

Jinghan Zeng, The Chinese Communist Party’s Capacity to Rule: Ideology, Legitimacy and Party Cohesion Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, Chapter 1, 2, 3, and 4
Supplementary reading

Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power*.


Hays Gries and Rosen, *State and Society in 21st Century China*.


Martin, *Cult and Canon: The Origins and Development of State Maoism*.


Sandy-Thomas, *Legitimating the Chinese Communist Party Since Tiananmen*.

Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*.


Teiwes, *Leadership, Legitimacy and Conflict in China: From a Charismatic Mao to the Politics of Succession*.

Tong Yanqi, ‘Morality, Benevolence and Responsibility’: Regime Legitimacy in China from Past to Present’, *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Published online, 12 February 2011.

Townsend, *Political Participation in Communist China*.

Weatherley, *Politics in China Since 1949*.


Bruce Gilley and Heike Holbig, "Reclaiming Legitimacy in China," *Politics & Policy* 38, no. 3 (2010);

10 Democracy in China

Discussion questions:
- Will Economic Reform Lead to Democratisation?
- Why should we expect economic reform to lead to democratisation? …..and why might it not be the case?
- Where would we expect the challenges to party power to emerge from? (and where has it come from)
- What did the Tiananmen protestors want? (and why hasn’t it happened again)?

Required reading
- [Does democracy stifle economic growth?](https://www.ted.com/talks/yasheng_huang_does_democracy_stifle_economic_growth) TED Talks – Yasheng Huang

Supplementary reading
Web Sites http://www.christusrex.org/www1/sdc/tiananmen.html
  warning – contains disturbing images of the 1989 Tiananmen demonstrations and its suppression
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod9.1.html
A bit of a cheat really as this is reading rather than a website – it’s a special issue of the *Journal of Democracy* on China from 1998

Read something on democratization theories
Michael Moran and Geraint Parry (eds) *Democracy and Democratization* (London: Routledge, 1994) Part one on theories and explanations. Christiansen’s Chapter on China is pretty decent too, but remember its more than a decade old now. E-book available via the library catalogue
David Potter et al *Democratization* (Milton Keynes, Open University) – there are a number of copies in the library and one in the learning grid.

Jean Grugel *Democratization: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) – again, a copy in the learning grid plus three (I think) on 3 day loan in the main library so don’t be greedy.

…. something on democratisation in China in general

Wang Hui “The Year 1989 and the Historical Roots of Neoliberalism in China” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, Volume 12, Number 1, 2004, pp. 7-70


Yan Jiaqi, *Toward a Democratic China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992) out of date, but good on what happened in Tiananmen 1989, and interesting to see what he says about the future (which is now the past). An e-book available via the library catalogue


Minxin Pei “Democratization In The Greater China Region” scroll down for the section on the PRC

http://www.nbr.org/publications/review/vol1no2/essay1.html


Again, this is rather dated, but it’s a good overview of the literature in the 1980s that talked about the need for a strong state to oversee economic reform. An important strand of Chinese intellectual thinking in the post-Mao era.


…. and something on civil society in China

He Baogang *The democratic implications of civil society in China*


Gordon White, Jude Howell and Shang Xiaoyuan *In search of civil society: market reform and social change in contemporary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) – the first 8 pages are available on questia if you cant get it out of the library Old, but the one of the first major academic works on civil society in China

Caroline Cooper “‘This is Our Way In’: The Civil Society of Environmental NGOs in South-West China” Government and Opposition, Volume 41, Number 1, January 2006, pp. 109-136


**Reading list for Spring Term will be given at the beginning of next term**